

# Hermes

BY THE STUDENTS OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY IN MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT



He is keeping  
the World safe  
for Democracy  
Enlist and help him

I  
ALL AMERICANS ARE HOSTAGES. The message is drilled into our heads daily by advertisements like that of the United Nuclear Corporation; or AMERICA HELD HOSTAGE (day 4,975), the nightly reminder by our moralistic television station during the 11 o'clock news. Fuck Iran buttons. "Fight back, drive 55" signs from Route 9 Middletown to California. "50 Back or We Attack." "Wesleyan Students for a Strong America..." etc. etc. ad naseam. Every day we are bombarded with editorials, commentaries, advertisements, articles and the like with the same message: America the helpless giant, unjustly persecuted in a world gone mad.

II  
In their most recent book, Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman speak of the "reconstruction of Imperial Ideology" a phenomenon which they describe in great detail. American ideologists and apologists are re-writing the history of American involvement in the Viet Nam War. They are absolving the U.S. of its war crimes against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. America was not evil in its attempts, (effects), but rather misguided, misinformed, mistaken. We simply didn't realize what we were doing. We were good hearted but we were mistaken. This is the new of-

ficial party line. (Anyone reading the Pentagon Papers or seeing the film Hearts and Minds, knows how untrue all of this is.)

The purpose of the re-writing of this history? To reconstruct an American imperial ideology, to put Vietnam behind us (as director Coppola of Apocalypse Now fame informs us as his hope for the movie), to absolve us of our structural sins, and to pave the way for renewed U.S. intervention in our national interest to protect our national security, of course.

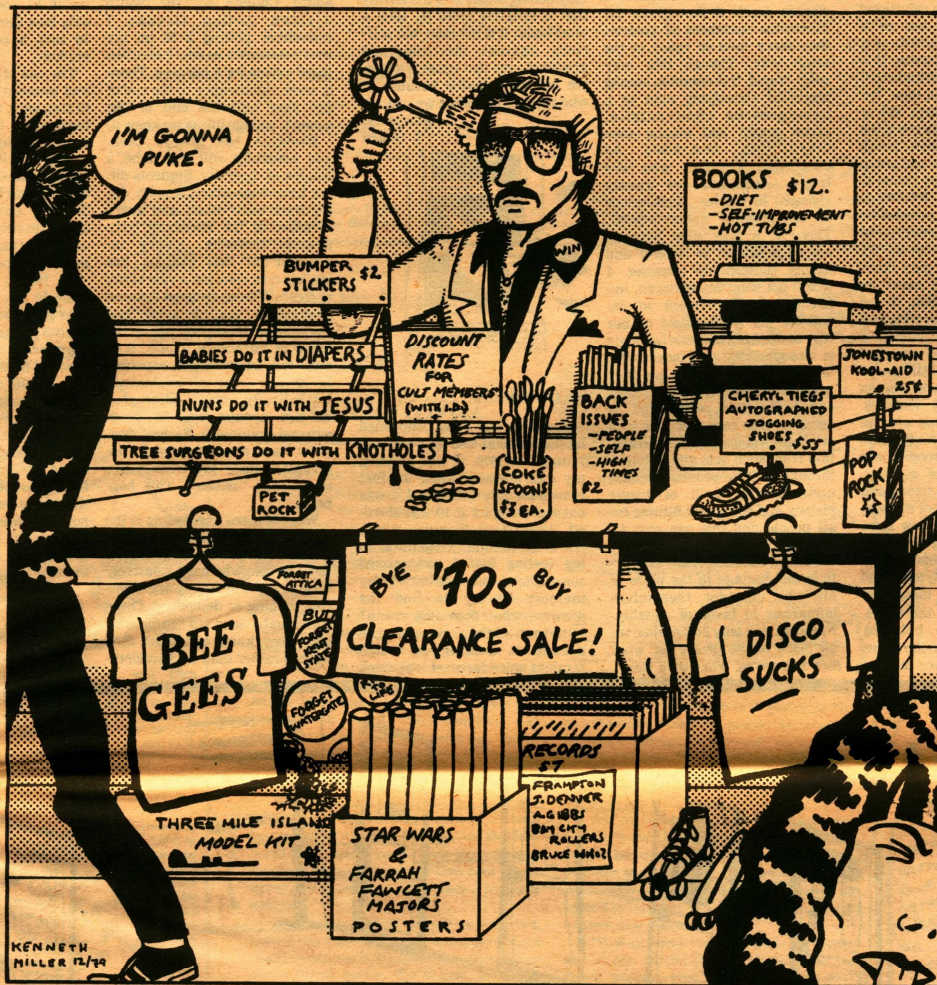
The lessons of Vietnam are reduced to trivialities. In a recent speech, Candidate Kennedy summed up these lessons: "If the Vietnam War taught us anything, it is precisely that when we do not debate foreign policy, we may drift into deeper trouble." So if the national debate concludes that it is right and good that the U.S. devastate Southeast Asia, and brutally kill hundreds of thousands of people because it is in our "national security" interests, whatever that may be, then it is a just policy because it has been debated. Morality, it seems, is conspicuously absent from these lessons.

III  
The state is being set. With Vietnam safely behind us we turn toward the future. And indeed, is is a futhre plagued with increasing national and international conflict. How do we respond to this pessimistic future

continued on back



# Editorials



## on matching means and ends

How appropriate that our brothers at Psi U made Wagner their musical choice to disrupt the No Registration, No Draft, No War rally last Wednesday. Besides being Hitler's favorite composer, Wagner's music was used as an inspirational tool for the Third Reich's elite stormtroopers. And how can we forget the powerful scene in *Apocalypse Now*, where American helicopters sadistically decimated a Vietnamese village to the beat of Wagner's "Ride Of the Valkyries"? A fine choice in music, boys, keep it up.

Isn't it ironic that these mature and responsible brothers acting so rudely chose to disrupt the rally while defending "The American Way." These actions are nothing new: last year, Psi U brothers played the obnoxious music during the pro-secretaries rallies. Well boys—rather than trying to wreck the work of others, try holding your own rallies. Perhaps you'll be surprised when no one shows.

Frat brothers frequently deride the campus press for portraying them in an unfavorable light. If they wish to be treated with respect, then they should behave in a way that encourages it.

We hope that the brothers don't trample each other and send their cassette decks crashing to the floor in their patriotic rush to defend "The American Way" and their right to be obnoxious.









Could it be that they are trying to tell us something? The Mobil Corporation begins the new decade with a "Fable for Now," part of its ongoing multimillion dollar advertising campaign in America's newspapers, designed to convince us to let them do what they want, and carefully packaged as Mobil's participation in a reasonable debate (you judge how reasonable their contribution really is). All is not well in Wonderland, we are told, and here's why....

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Advertisement

## A Fable For Now:

# Malice in Wonderland



Once upon a time, not so very long ago or far away, lived a White Rabbit who was nervous and some Hares who were mad—not mad as Hatters sometimes are, but mad as in angry. They were mad because the Rabbit and his sizable family had everything while the Hares had little.

That was very odd, for the wonderful land they shared was a 24-carrot dream come true. Wide waters on both sides kept Rabbits and Hares alike safe from Weasels and Wildcats, and the fertile earth could yield plenty of tasty treats for both types of bunnies.

The Rabbits ruled the land, and prospered. Naturally, they multiplied. Generations worked their teeth to the bone carving out the good life, and their burrows spread. Rabbit transit systems linked even the farthest burrow to the center of things, "things" being a series of thriving, growing gardens. Even the Beavers far across the waters were eager to praise the Rabbits' industry.

The Hares, on the other hand, had it considerably rougher. They tried to grow gardens, of course, but the Rabbits owned the best land. And the Hares lacked decent homes because without plenty of lettuce they had little energy to burrow. Their coats were in tatters; indeed, the Hare shirt became a symbol of suffering.

But though the Hares were still out in the cold, some of the Rabbits began to worry more about guarding their own little patches than about keeping all the gardens growing. "I'm all right, Jackrabbit," they faddishly chattered to one another, "so now let's stop building. Time to protect what we have." They wrinkled their noses in refined distaste at the Hares.

"Oh, too messy," these elitist Rabbits said of sprawling growth that nibbled at the wilderness. "Ick, too crowded," they sniffed at older areas in the center of the warren. "Too noisy, too dusty, too busy," they sighed at activity everywhere. They began to preach the most unrabbitlike notion of zero growth.

Were these Rabbits just putting on Hares? The Hares, for sure, were bitter. "No growth?" they asked. "Stagnation's for mosquitoes. What about us out in the fields, and our kids still in their salad days? We need gardens, a chance to grow."

Some older Rabbits who weren't really with it didn't bother to mask how they felt about Hares. "They're used to it. It's their nature to live that way. Tsk, tsk," they said righteously.

Some younger Rabbits who thought they were with it complimented the Hares in a left-handed way. "Hey, you're really together," they said to the Hares. "Here we are, untight about limited resources, and you're already doing without almost everything. That's really far out!"

As time passed, the issue was splittin' Hares into two camps. Some appealed to good sense. "It's all very well for Rabbits to talk about aesthetics and scarcities and making do," they said, "but they've already got it made. We don't." Others followed the path of the Protest March Hare and shouted slogans, voiced threats, and dug up an occasional Rabbit garden.

And the White Rabbit grew more and more nervous. "It's late, it's late," he thought, glancing anxiously at his pocketwatch. "Here we are, snug in our neat little burrows. But we can't simply sit around drinking chamomile tea and hoping for things to get better. The Hares can't wait forever. Oh, my fur and whiskers, what shall we do?"

"Wise up," said a voice, followed by the appearance of a grin, and then the entire Cheshire Cat. "No growth" makes no sense," he purred. "If folks don't have enough in the first place, less isn't more; it's nonsense." Already fading, he continued without paws: "There's room enough for plenty of new gardens, and there ought to be enough work in planting them to keep everybody hopping." And then the Cat disappeared entirely.

The White Rabbit realized how silly his folk had been. Rabbits and Hares could work together to make the gardens bigger and better for both while still protecting their habitat. And that was all it took for them to live happily ever after.

Moral: To give everybody a share of the pie, the pie has to keep growing so it's big enough to go around. And that's no fable. Mobil leaves nothing to chance, does it?

## Mobil

Well, if you ask the wrong questions, you're bound to get the wrong answers, which is exactly what Mobil wants. The fact that Mobil misrepresents the actors, the conflict and the entire framework

allows it to recreate, in fable form, its ideological interpretation of a world where it is possible for all to "live happily ever after," under certain conditions, of course.

In shifting the burden of responsibility for the conflict onto the no-growth advocates (who are so grossly misrepresented as to be funny if it weren't so dangerous) and absolving itself of all blame, it places its corporate self above the conflict as a neutral party, offering its services (growth and more pie for all) as the sole vehicle for resolution and salvation. Only problem with that is that Mobil is the problem, not the solution. And rather than baking more and more pies (and getting severe indigestion and in some cases malnutrition), might we not consider dividing the pie more equally instead?

Mobil shamelessly admits that Wonderland, like the U.S. of A, is a class-divided society; thus Capitalist society extends even into the realm of fairy tales!

Mobil admits to "inequality and exploitation" the Rabbits owned the "best land." But the fault is partially placed on the Hares: Some lettuce no energy to burrow. Out, the culture of poverty strikes deep into the burrows of the Hares, & ended that culture is circular, we are told.

Assumption: the conflict is structured around the Hares vs. Elitist Rabbits. The "No-Growth" Primary contradiction from which all else follows. Like the bumper stickers says: "Cold, hungry, out of work? Eat an Environmentalist!"

Mobil reduces the complex & challenging arguments of "no growth" advocates to that of their supposed selfish, petty & snobbish attitudes, so that we dislike them + b) discard their point of view.

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air pollution, etc.  
Hard to forget,  
aren't they?







# Hearts and Minds

by Richard Schorske

Drained faces and darkened eyes. Screaming indictment. "The ultimate in aviation." Appalling.

For those who may have doubted, *"Hearts and Minds"* sealed the case - Vietnam was a horrid spectacle without moral justification. An immensely powerful collection of film clips and interviews paraded before us the love of pure violence and the American cultural decadence out of which that love has grown. Interviews with military men and policy makers caught the awful absurdity of pure technique. The closer we came to the purity of the "anti-personnel" concept (via defoliation, napalm,...) the darker became our moral abyss. Between technique and old fashioned blood-lust *"Hearts and Minds"* presented a panoply of American cultural contradictions wrecked on the unrelenting Indochinese.

But from its opening scenes the film's vivid and searing focus on our conduct of the war in Vietnam and its cultural antecedents at home is simplistic and limited in scope. Statements of political leaders consist exclusively of the lying conducted in public, ignoring accounts of bitter if hermetically sealed intra-governmental debates. Extremist policy-makers and executors (the distinction often blurred) like Rostow and Westmoreland displayed only the fear and bigotry behind US policy, whereas it was the intellectual "pragmatism" of MacNamara, Bundy and Kissinger that was so much more difficult to attack, particularly with cameras, but which was so much more crucial in providing the bureaucratic momentum behind the escalation of three successive administrations. Without giving the viewers and background in the arguments of the most persuasive policy-makers, heroes as well as villains are distorted in incomplete historical context.

Sophisticated editing and cutting condemns the apologists as pro-death ignoring their tremendous credence with the "peace with honor" silent majority. Where is serious consideration given to the myths and deeply felt political forces which defeated by a landslide the anti-war candidate of George McGovern in



1972? Among these political and social forces behind the US involvement, it seems that football is the most crucial in the minds of the editors. Some well-worn clips from McCarthy - Hoover hysteria only hint at an analysis of the political psychology behind our commitment. *Hearts and Minds* ignores these historical events crucial in sustaining the ideology behind superpower confrontation. Without any references to the Cuban missile crisis, the Berlin blockade, or any of the many examples of Soviet imperialist expansion since World War II, anti-communism in general and the domino theory in particular are made to look merely silly. Where it failed to analyze the political theory behind intervention *Hearts and Minds* failed to systematically dismantle that theory. A shocking visual presentation and masterful handling of juxtaposition nevertheless overlooks the intellectual and moral challenges of an era of superpower aggressiveness that was bilateral before it was self-consuming.

*Hearts and Minds* consistently flails at the majority of Americans who at one time believed in the war, but its attack is prejudiced by a scrupulous documentation of atrocities common to all wars, morally "justified" or not, and by a tendency to take pro-war statements only from the most rabid hawks. The film gives no more than lip service to the complex of forces behind a nation of LT. Coker's, a man who tells the parochial school kids, "and someday you will have to go to war."

LT. Coker, a returning POW who has embarked on a speaking tour to defend our supposed "victory" in Vietnam, is treated as some kind of inexplicable freak by the camera which unbendingly expresses its alienation even from the pathos of Nixon's America.

In its odd blend of undirectedness and strong but facile juxtaposition of images and statements, *Hearts and Minds* is a powerful pacifist tract. But it misses a chance to explode the myth of a monolithic communism and instead substitutes an indiscriminating pacifism. After the grief of the tum's protracted mourning and burial scenes, Ho's socialist slogans would have seemed as hideously insensate as General Westmoreland's "life is cheap in Asia." The techniques which the film successfully uses to increase its emotional impact reduces its intellectual viability as a statement on Vietnam. Its essential judgement on the war, while not incorrect, was a judgement the film substantiated by exposing the evil of a few, not the error of millions.

Instead of making contact with that in the American cultural and political tradition which could work to expose our mistakes in Vietnam, the film chose to take an easier, road and alienate itself and its viewers from American culture as a whole, per se. The view of Daniel Ellsberg that "we weren't on the wrong side. We are the wrong side" takes the place of any close examination of new cultural sources which would inform a better sense for moral judgements. In its gut level reaction against America's ignorant self-righteousness, the film ultimately denies that we should be involved in moral judgements - and thus morality - at all. The film falls back on an easy manipulation of imagery which successfully attacks death and napalm but not the root cause of horror: a belief in our perfect capacity to objectively evaluate the relative worth of competing social systems combined with a blind faith in geopolitical gamesmanship and selective but arbitrary intervention as the key to global "stability" if not global peace. Westmoreland and Rostow fall on their faces in *Hearts and Minds* but Kissinger stands unassailed.

For those willing to deny the possibility of a morally justifiable war, (among which Vietnam certainly was not) *Hearts and Minds* was a powerful success, for the rest of us it was a disappointment.

by Todd Martin

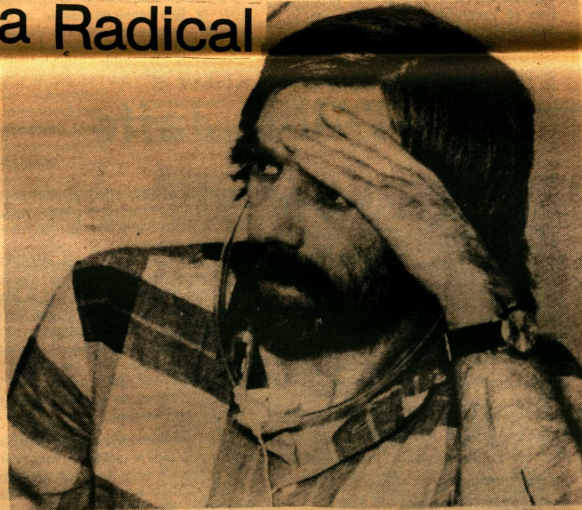
A former leader of the German student uprisings of 1967, still suffering after twelve years from wounds incurred in an assassination attempt on his life, suffers a seizure in a bathtub in the home of friends in Denmark, slips, and drowns. Perhaps not the material from which Hollywood movies are made, but the story comes as a sad and important epitaph at the end of a decade, for a man whose activities in the movement of the far-left symbolize and reflect the struggles of an entire generation and their subsequentceptions and disillusion.

The name Rudi Dutschke will probably not ring many bells. His participation in the political life of West Germany was brief, and yet he was the most emblematic and representative leader of a movement not only political in nature, but also ethical, aesthetic, and even erotic, against the conception of a "completely administrated society." He became a symbol of the confrontation in the sixties between students and the conformity of German life. The press nick-named him "Rudi the Red", and he fast became an object of both fear and soon hatred for the "establishment." Ten years later in the Germany of the end of the 1970's there was little response to the news of his death. He died on Christmas Eve and in Germany, where no newspapers are printed on the two following days, his death was only briefly announced over the radio and television.

As the leader of the "Anti-Authoritarian Movement", which in 1966 mobilized the students in Berlin, his actions preceded and greatly influenced the more famous student revolts of May 1968 in France. Rudi was born in East Germany in 1940, his father a postal clerk, and his initial orientation was towards sports. He had hoped to become a sports journalist, but his rebellious spirit became clear early on in his refusal to do his military service for which he was barred from studying journalism. He crossed over to West Berlin to study in 1961 just before the closing of the borders.

In Germany it all began the thirteenth of August 1961 with the construction of the Berlin wall. Rudi was twenty and found himself immediately immersed in the contradictions of western anti-communist ideology and in the midst of a bureaucratic system without political or ideological credibility. At this time the central authority of the

## Life and Death of a Radical



Rudi Dutschke

Rudi studies sociology, which was soon to become an obligatory point of passage for European and American leftist students. He began a thesis on communism in Europe and made contacts with small far Left groups interested in debating ideas in the revolutionary circles of Berlin. In the end of 1966 Herbert Marcuse gave a seminar on Vietnam in Frankfurt, and his works were published in German. In Berlin the slogan "we don't want to be educated anymore by educated idiots in order to become specialized idiots" was launched. Rudi travelled to Berkeley to study under Marcuse following what was becoming the "pilgrimage to Mecca" for radicals. It wasn't until after his return to Germany several years later that he became the center of the student movement.

Bonn government was being undermined by scandals; and when a major politician, who was a former architect of concentration camps, came to Berlin carrying a wreath to place on a monument to the victims of nazism, the police arrested six demonstrators and the rector of the Free University of Berlin proclaiming that the students had no "political mandate."

The most serious episode of the German student revolt occurred on June 2, 1967 when during a visit of the Shah of Iran to Germany, a student demonstrator was shot dead by the police. This acted as a catalyst which exploded the anti-authoritarian movement. As an organizer and leader of the Radical Socialist Student League, Rudi sustained a belief in the solidarity of students and workers. He felt that workers represented the dispossessed, and that students were those not yet committed to capitalists' society and its production processes. But in the month of April of 1968, just as events in France were coming to a head, he was shot at gunpoint in the face by a deranged neo-nazi worker. He was hospitalized in a coma and barely survived. His attacker was arrested, tried and judged mentally unfit. In 1970 he committed suicide.

The announcement of the attack provoked numerous violent demonstrations in Germany (two students were killed in Munich) and in major European cities including London. The "Springer" press, a right-wing newspaper

group was accused by the demonstrators of having incited the hatred against Rudi and his friends. Several weeks later it was May, 1968.

Paradoxically, it was at the moment when the universities of Europe saw their most violent agitation that Rudi was confined to a hospital bed. When he recovered, the movements in Germany were already finished or were winding down. He emigrated to England and in 1971 was deported as an "undesirable alien" but the British government which accused him of having been involved in "subversive activities" and for being a "public danger to society."

So he ended up at a university in Denmark where he completed his doctorate and where his visa was renewed. His thesis concerned Lenin: a tentative to place him once again with his feet on the ground which was published in 1974. In recent years he had renewed his campaign for social change and had helped to found a radical newspaper in West Berlin. In this past year he declared his support for the "Greens", a coalition of environmental groups championing an alternative party for West Germany's next parliamentary elections and he was about to move to Bremen in order to expand his participation in the ecological movement against nuclear power.

At the time of the height of terrorist activity three years ago, Rudi had condemned the recourse to violence. Though not adverse to talking about violence, he did so in abstract terms and in this respect epitomized the first generation of militants in Germany which then gave way to a period of urban guerrillas and terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang.

The fact that he kept a distance from the rash of political violence, never stopped him until his death from manifesting his radical convictions and his forthright views. No one group on the Left could every truly recuperate his unconditional support. He never renounced his direct non-conformist style of intervention, his independence, and his profound sense of justice and sincerity, or his willingness to risk in complete good faith, which had eventually resulted in the attempt on his life.

Daniel Cohn-P-Bendit, a leader of the French May '68 student revolt, writes of Rudi's death in Liberation that "he was truly possessed by the demon of politics, always searching for new perspectives, there where the trees hide the forest." Rudi the Red was someone who at all costs wanted to save





# No Registration,

## Dan Pearlstein

College students against the draft are accused of the worst kind of elitism and self-interest. I always thought that that was what the American System of Free Enterprise was supposed to be all about. You know, the "invisible hand" and all that.

Self-interest: that's not really what anti-draft activism was, or is, or will be all about. In part, we think of it in those terms because of the way that resistance was portrayed during the Vietnam War (and because of the way that Vietnam War protests are portrayed now). We have the idea that opposition to the draft was something that college students thought up while the workers—hard hats, you know—happily went off to get their self-interests shot off. It's worth reviewing the draft and the resistance that it has inspired over the past 100 years to get a better idea of what happened and what is at stake.

I don't have time to give a full history of conscription so I've picked out some typical and important events. The first draft in the United States was during the Civil War. At first they had it so that if you didn't want to fight, you could hire someone to take your place, but it seems that a lot of people had money but no one that they could convince to join the army. So, they changed the law to make so you could pay \$300 instead of fighting. A popular saying at the time was that the Civil War was being fought with "the rich man's money and the poor man's blood." Resistance was swift: in New York City alone, in July, 1863, draft riots left 1200 people dead. (It's never simple though, in addition to

the rioters and the soldiers who were killed, the casualties included a number of Black by-standers. It seems that the protesters lynched the Blacks that they came across—figured that they were the cause of the war.) Anyway, of the 300,000 people named in the first draft call, 9% hired substitutes, 18% paid the \$300 fee, 70% found some deferment or exemption, and a mere 3% were actually drafted.

The draft ended with the end of the war, and didn't reappear until World War I. Once again opposition was widespread. Among the leading anti-draft organizations was a labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World. Their slogan was "Capitalists of America, we will fight against you not for you." Several hundred Oklahoma share croppers responded to the call by attempting an armed march on Washington. They called it the Green Corn Rebellion. It failed, and the leaders were jailed. The draft didn't do so good either. Two years after the war ended, the War Department—that's what they really used to call the "Defense Department"—reported that it still wanted 325,000 for draft resistance offenses.

Another interesting thing happened in the WWI draft resistance. See, you've got to realize that the draft is, among other things, unconstitutional. It violates the 13th Amendment prohibition of involuntary servitude unless you've been duly convicted of a crime—that is, slavery. Well, Charles Schenck, a leader of the socialist party during WWI was convicted of violating

the 1877 Espionage Act by circulating a leaflet which said that the draft was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court upheld the conviction: Oliver Wendell Holmes in a famous ruling argued that Schenck's actions were like "shouting fire in a crowded theater and causing a panic." He goes on to explain that freedom of speech is one thing, but during a national emergency like a war or something, freedom of speech can not extend to efforts to challenge the things that it is the duty of Congress to protect. Things, he says, like private property. You can say whatever you want when it's not an emergency, that is when there's no chance of getting any changes. In order to violate the 13th amendment, it seems they've had to violate a few others, it's only fair.

Once again the draft was suspended after WWI, and resumed during WWII. That one was relatively popular. Dave Dellinger, later of the Chicago 8 and then 7, and a few others refused induction but most people figured that Nazis deserved to be fought.

Now we get to the part more relevant to our situation. The first "peacetime" draft was in 1948, when President Truman was beginning the first Cold War. He felt that universal military training had only "incidental military value but that it could effectively be used to develop skills that could be useful in civilian life... (and) citizenship responsibilities, and to foster the moral and spiritual welfare of our young people." Apparently unmoved by the President's concern for their welfare, four or five hundred people in cities across the country publicly destroyed their draft cards or returned them to

A more powerful resistance move-



On Wednesday was held in voice student. The following speeches the



ment appeared in the form of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. At that time, the Army was still officially segregated "in the interests of national defense." The League was organized by Blacks to refuse induction and gain the support of organizations like the NAACP and, according to one poll, 71% of Black college students. While the movement's goals were not radical—petitioned out after Truman ordered the Armed Forces integrated—its chosen means were. Here, as during the Vietnam war, the earliest anti-draft organizing was by Blacks.

The problem with the draft was the aura of universality but they really didn't need couldn't use more than a portion of the

## Cynthia Jaffe

I would like to begin with a quick look back, identifying the two basic traditions that represent the roles American women have played in relation to war and the draft, over the years.

The more visible tradition historically has been that in which women have served merely to support and serve the men at war. Our models in this have been many: such mistresses as Molly Pitcher, and those battlefield nurses like Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton. Throughout the wars of this century, American women were taught that they'd be valued and needed most only insofar as they perfect their performance as mothers, sweethearts, USO volunteers, and playmates, supporting the boys on the front. It's a rather distorted heroism, I think.

But it's not the only role women play. There is a less visible—though far stronger and more lasting—tradition. In this one, women have been (and still are, in many cases) the leaders of the peace movement, working aggressively and effectively for peace. But I mean peace for the sake of peace—not simply for the sake of their wounded sons and lovers. Peace because peace is our right.

For instance. The War Resisters League, an international and highly active organization, was begun by four women: Tracy Mygatt, Francis Witherspoon, Sarah Cleghorn, and Jessie Wallace Hughan. They formed what they called the Anti-Enlistment League, the first organized resistance to American participation in WWI. After the war, those women developed this into today's War Resisters League.

Then there is the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, formed in 1915. One of its founders was Jane Adams. That organization too, is still very active today. The same goes for the Women's Strike for Peace, organized in the fifties in response to

nuclear proliferation.

In addition, there have been numerous women working as individuals and organizers in the struggle against war. Jeannette Rankin, for instance: the first woman in Congress,



was the only Congressperson to vote against both world wars. And Mary "Mother" Jones, whose life spanned a full century from 1830 to 1930, who was active in every movement for justice in her day. And there is Emma Goldman, who had to serve many a prison sentence for her efforts. One of those lasted two years—for advocating draft resistance during WWI. She was ultimately deported from this country. And finally, today's outspoken exam-

ple: Bella Abzug, who has been working for peace of course for decades, now. In fact, women have always led the anti-war movements.

Today, however, our situation becomes more complex. For the first time in America's history, it is likely that women, too, will be called before the draft board. The Pentagon is taking unprecedented measures to recruit women, because the population of males 17-22 years old has decreased 15%, and they intend to make up the difference with women.

Now, we often hear that when women are equal in the military, that will be the ultimate step to their liberation. When women are in combat or basic training, the theory goes, they will finally "measure up." Serving their country, at last they'll be equal to men! But the fact is, being in the military means more oppression for women—not more or equal opportunity for women, which is what we need.

Unfortunately, when people face discrimination, the tendency is for them to try to become "equal" by becoming like their oppressors. Women could easily fall into this trap, trying to prove themselves equal—in war. But what would the woman gain from such "equality"? It would mean: she could be ordered about by a superior, just like a man. She can die in battle, just like a man. In sum, she could only be an equal killer. Terrific.

A woman who was recently discharged from the military on conscientious objector status, put it quite well, I think. She said, "The challenge is not whether we can endure basic training or shoot straight between the eyes. Of course we could. The greater challenge is to act as women, united for the ideals men and their clever weapons haven't brought us: security, peace, justice, and equality for all."

There is another question women must raise about the draft. It is the

same question that the Native American Indian has had to raise. And that blacks have had to raise, and Puerto Ricans. That is: why should we have equal responsibility to serve this nation and government, when we still don't have equal rights and opportunities here?

It is for this reason that the National Organization for Women, while striving so hard to get the ERA passed, has been so vociferously opposed to the draft. Along with almost every other feminist group.

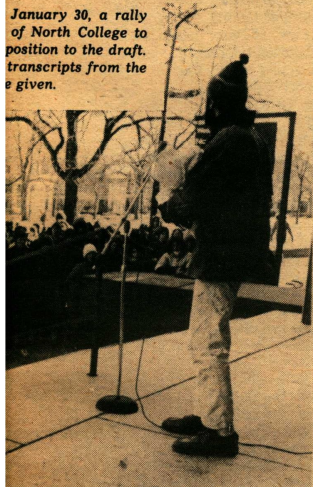
But perhaps the biggest paradox of it all is how, without realizing it, men too are oppressed by their own masculinized system; by the false ideas of masculinity taught them in this warmonger system. It is a terrible shame that men have to feel that in order to be masculine, they must be violent. And that they are taught that the army "makes boys into men." A magic trick! I find it horrifying how in the past men have been branded as cowards if they resisted the draft—and that then this so-called coward has been called by names like sissy, and said to be effeminate. Words like those—coward, sissy, effeminate, for the draft dodger—are meaningless. What's worse, they are false and dangerous. They perpetuate the myth which ties manhood to violence. And they also harm women, by associating the non-fighter with the non-male—and that with weakness. The point is, that resisting the draft, and standing up for peace—by women and by men—is not cowardice. On the contrary, it is proof of strength; it is wisdom; it is life-loving.

So What, then, is the women's response to the draft? The only women's response to the draft is a call for NO draft. For the feminist call for equality of the sexes is a call for equality in life, not in death.



# Draft,

January 30, a rally of North College to protest the draft. transcripts from the given.



potential recruits. So, they started making exemption: for students, fathers and later husbands, etc., giving the draft the most class bias since the Civil War. They will have to do that this time too, of course—as always at the expense of poor people, and Third World people. (They may try to give the

appearance of resolving the obvious and necessary inequities of the draft with a program of "National Service," but more on that later.)

I'll skip some of the known history of Vietnam War resistance, things that other speakers will touch upon, and deal on some that you may be unfamiliar with: the GI Resistance. It was largely Blacks, and working class. We're back to the hard hat thing. See, a lot of people didn't have the resources that many college students would have had to beat the draft, so their opposition to the war took place from within the military. A couple of examples: In July 1967, during the rebellion (the so-called riot) in Detroit, two Black marines, William Harvey and George Daniels called a meeting to discuss why Blacks were fighting "a white man's war." When they requested a chance to talk about this matter with their commander, a court marshal found them guilty of promoting disloyalty and sentenced them to six and ten years respectively.

During the 1968 Democratic Party Convention in Chicago, troops were ordered in to protect our "leaders" from the anti-war demonstrators. Fully realizing the class and race differences between them and the demonstrators,

# No War

and at great risk (as you can imagine), large numbers of soldiers refused orders to go to Chicago. There were also strikes by hundreds of sailors on ships bound for southeast Asia. In what came to be known as fraggings, hundreds of officers, too anxious to lead their troops into battle, were killed by these same troops, determined not to fight and risk getting killed in an imperialist war.

The War in Vietnam dragged on for year but we must not forget the role of anti-war protestors in interfering with its prosecution. The war was ended not only because the U.S. was, necessarily, losing in Vietnam, but also because the government was losing at home. The draft was ended, not because of changing troop requirements but because it was unenforceable and in fact the trouble it was causing for the government outweighed the benefits. Listen to Sam Nunn, the right-wing Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel:

"The volunteer force came about not on the basis of good analysis but on the basis of a political decision that was made by the executive branch—and endorsed by Congress—that would buy time for Vietnam, cool the campuses and take the heat off."

A lot of the smart money is betting that the only way a draft can be passed is in conjunction with a National Service Bill. Since part of the intention of the draft is always to cool out all of society, this idea is winning lots of friends in high places. What's national service? Day care centers? Rebuilding the cities? Maybe even an abortion clinic or two? Not a chance; the leading advocate of national service is California Republican Paul McCloskey. Among the jobs that would be performed by McCloskey's public servants is "seasonal farm labor on commercial farms at which adequate labor by persons who are not United States citizens is not available." Another bill would require every federal agency to "designate a minimum of 5 % of its employment positions to be filled by Public Service registrants" at subsistence wages. National Service is nothing more than another scheme to bust unions, lower the living standards of working people, and limit the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of all. Its sole purpose is to control the work force at home while allowing an army to be conscripted to better control the work force overseas.

College students opposing the draft are accused of mindless, nostalgic

cont. on page 11

## Joel Lefkowitz

There are a lot of people here, that's great. I've been listening up in front here and I didn't realize that there were so many people. And it's so cold. Clap your hands. Stamp your feet.

No registration. No draft. No war. People have spoken about registration and the draft. I'm going to talk about war. War—what is it good for? Absolutely nothing. Say it, say it. What is it good for? Absolutely nothing. Yeah. That's what I have to say about it. Some people say that war and defense spending are good for the economy, especially here in Connecticut where there are so many war related industries. I heard that last night on TV. It's not true. William Winpisinger, the President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace workers put it this way:

"As a job creator, national defense is probably the least effective kind of federal spending...a recent study of the economic impact of the B-1 Bomber production...shows that from thirty to seventy thousand more jobs would be created if equivalent amounts of the bomber program were spent through either a tax cut, on public housing or in a civilian public works program..."

So much for that.

Now I'm going to talk about foreign affairs. It's been the U.S. foreign policy for decades now to support corrupt, dictatorial regimes all over what we call the free world. Ther people in those countries aren't free, in any sense, but those countries are open to corporate investments, and the big corporations are free to pay miserably low wages to workers abroad, and they're free to take jobs away from people in this country. It's happening all over the northeast right now. The jobs are being moved to South Korea or Hong Kong for bigger corporate profits, and the working people in this country are getting hurt. And it's not so great for the workers abroad either.

That's the policy we're continuing by supporting General Zia in Pakistan. Everyone agrees that the people in his country hate him. Even Walter Condrate says so.

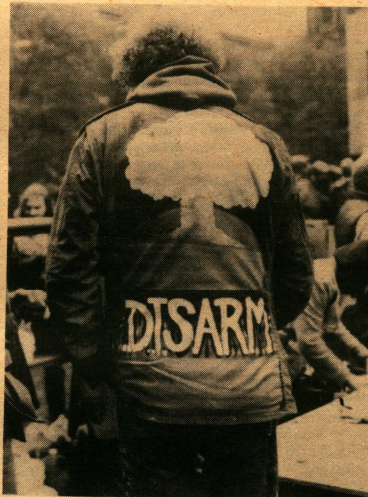
But President Carter says we have to defend what he called "our oil interests." That means the profits that Exxon (up 55% over last) and Mobil (up 83% over last year) and what not are making.

The real interests served by President Carter's decision to gear up for the draft are his own. This is a rather cynical ploy to get him reelected.

Some people say that we're avoiding the real issues. So what about Afghanistan. There's a Sherlock Holmes story, the first one, the first one I read, too, and in it Holmes impresses Dr. Watson and me, the naive young reader, by deducing that Watson has been in Afghanistan. When I read that it was the first time I ever heard of Afghanistan, and I didn't pay much attention to it. It turns out that the reference to Watson in Afghanistan is to the second of three British invasions of Afghanistan, the last just after World War I. Now that there are SOVIET troops in Afghanistan we've got to pay attention. Sherlock Holmes used to say though, it's a mistake to theorize in advance of the

facts. But already there are lots of theories.

The main theory seems to be that the Soviets have invaded Afghanistan, a landlocked country, to satisfy their age old lust for a warm water port, and related geopolitical reasons, like putting the squeeze on U.S. oil companies. But with ICBMs and what not, warm water ports just aren't what they used to be in global military strategy two hundred years ago. And the Soviets have one in Aden already anyway.



Some people say all this is happening because President Carter wasn't tough enough, you know, he wasn't man enough — he wasn't big enough, you know what I mean? Others say, look, we told you before that if SALT wasn't passed that the balance of power in the Soviet leadership would shift to those who are more distrustful of the U.S., and that their policy would become more hardline. Well, there are a lot of theories.

I don't know exactly what's happening there and I can't give you a complete picture in a short time, so I'm going to focus on some relevant facts that haven't gotten much attention. You can find other stuff in the New York Times. Barbrak Karmal, the head of Afghanistan installed by the Soviets was not born in Moscow, and he's not a Soviet citizen. He's been active in Afgan politics for decades, and he was elected to the Congress the two times there were election. His government does have some support, besides those Soviet troops, primarily the support of urban, educated women. The reason for this is that like the Taraki and Amin governments, Karmal has opposed the bride price — the selling of women to their future husbands —

and has supported literacy for women; the opposite policies of the moslem clergy, who are also often the rural landlords who have lost a great deal through the land reform that the Communists have implemented.

It's relevant to mention that according to the Economist, a rather conservative publication, in an article last September after a year and a half of Popmunist rule, "no restrictions had been imposed on religious practice." Before I go any further, let me say that I think that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan; The Soviet troops we know are there, and well, what's the evidence that the U.S., Pakistan and China are involved, as the Soviets say? We know that the Soviets have lied about foreign intervention before, using it as a pretext for the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. But before the recent Soviet action, the Japanese news agency Kyodod reported that 1000 Pakistani guerillas trained in subversive activity by the Chinese, were raiding the Afghan border. That was last April. MacLeans, a Canadian magazine reports that Chinese army officers were present on Pakistani soil training Afghan guerillas. The Swiss newspaper Neue Zuercher Zeitung reported that the Pakistanis are funding rebel weapons purchases. The Lebanese weekly Al Kifah al Arabi and several Eastern European papers claim that the CIA and the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency are active in the Afghan—Pakistani border area. The State Department says that that's not true. Maybe. But dig this: Zia Nassery, the president of the free, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan declared a week ago, who has asked for foreign military assistance, is a U.S. citizen, although he was born in Afghanistan. That's according to the New York Times of April 12, 1979. According to Counterspy magazine another so-called Afghan rebel, Ziqy Nezri, visited the U.S. last March, to ask for U.S. aid. He talked with the State Department Desk Officer for Afghanistan, Ronald Lorton, and representatives of two Senators. Lorton wouldn't discuss their conversation because, well, you see, Nezri is a U.S. citizen.

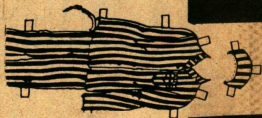
John Stockwell, the CIA head for Angola wrote a book in which he described the CIA's strategy in that country, and also confessed to brilliant lies that he placed in reputable media. He said that it was the U.S. not the Soviets, that became involved first, and that the intention was to prevent what was called an easy communist victory by arming the other side. That's the strategy that President Johnson called escalation in Vietnam. It follows a pattern, if you dig what I mean.

The Wall St. Journal quoted an unnamed high level source as saying that either we're doing something and I can't tell you about it or we're not doing anything. I don't know. But I do know that President Carter has lied. President Nixon lied — he lied all the time. President Johnson lied. No more lies. No more draft. No more war.

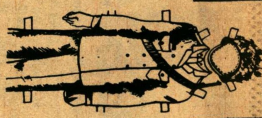
(The information on articles in the foreign press about foreign involvement in Afghanistan is from Counterspy. The rest of it was plagiarized from the articles by Fred Halliday in New Left Review and In These Times, and a few random sources.



# No Registration,



# No Draft,



# No War

## in Pearlstein

at the draft are of elitism and thought that the system of Free "invisible hand"

the rioters and the soldiers who were killed, the casualties included a number of Black by-standers. It seems that the protesters lynched the Blacks that they came across—figured that they were the cause of the war.) Anyway, of the 300,000 people named in the first draft call, 9 % hired substitutes, 18 % paid the \$300 fee, 70 % found some deferment or exemption, and a mere 3% were actually drafted.

The draft ended with the end of the war, and didn't reappear until World War I. Once again opposition was widespread. Among the leading anti-draft organizations was a labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World. Their slogan was "Capitalists of America, we will fight against you not for you." Several hundred Oklahoma share croppers responded to the call by attempting an armed march on Washington. They called it the Green Corn Rebellion. It failed, and the leaders were jailed. The draft didn't do so good either. Two years after the war ended, the War Department—that's what they really used to call the "Defense Department"—reported that it still wanted 325,000 for draft resistance offenses.

Another interesting thing happened in the WWI draft resistance. See, you've got to realize that the draft is, among other things, unconstitutional. It violates the 13th Amendment prohibition of involuntary servitude unless you've been duly convicted of a crime—that is, slavery. Well, Charles Schenck, a leader of the socialist party during WWI was convicted of violating

the 137 Espionage Act by circulating a leaflet which said that the draft was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court upheld the conviction. Oliver Wendell Holmes in a famous ruling argued that Schenck's actions were like "shouting fire in a crowded theater and causing a panic." He goes on to explain that freedom of speech is one thing, but during a national emergency like a war or something, freedom of speech can not extend to efforts to challenge the things that it is the duty of Congress to protect. Things, he says, like private property. You can say whatever you want when it's not an emergency, that is when there's no chance of getting any changes. In order to violate the 13th amendment, it seems they've had to violate a few others. It's only fair.

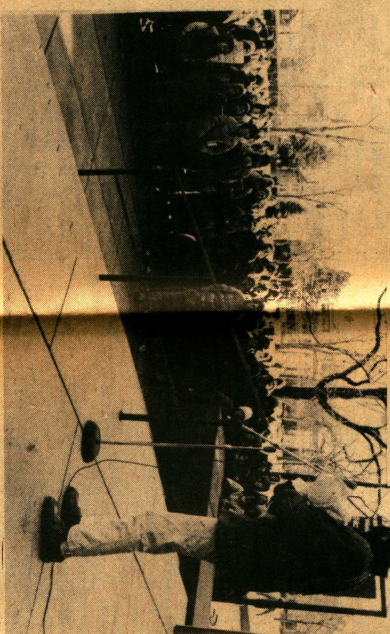
Once again the draft was suspended after WWI, and resumed during WWII. That one was relatively popular. Dave Dellinger, later of the Chicago 8 and then 7, and a few others refused induction but most people figured that Nazis deserved to be fought.

Now we get to the part more relevant to our situation. The first "peace-time" draft was in 1948, when President Truman was beginning the first Cold War. He felt that universal military training had only "incidental military value but that it could effectively be used to develop skills that could be useful in civilian life... (and) citizenship responsibilities, and to foster the moral and spiritual welfare of our young people." Apparently unmoved by the President's concern for their welfare, four or five hundred people in cities across the country publicly destroyed their draft cards or returned them to Truman on Lincoln's Birthday.

A more powerful resistance movement appeared in the form of the League for Non-Violent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation. At that time, the Army was still officially segregated "in the interests of national defense." The League was organizing Blacks to refuse induction and gained the support of organizations like the NAACP and, according to one poll, 71 % of Black college students. While the movement's goals were not radical—it pertained only after Truman ordered the Armed Forces integrated—its chosen means were. Here, as during the Vietnam war, the earliest anti-draft organizing was by Blacks.

The problem with the draft was this: they needed to preserve the aura of universality but they really didn't need, couldn't use more than a portion of the

On Wednesday, January 30, a rally was held in front of North College to voice students' opposition to the draft. The following are transcripts from the speeches that were given.



potential recruits. So, they started making exemption: for students, fathers and later husbands, etc., giving the draft the most class bias since the Civil War. They will have to do that this time too, of course—as always at the expense of poor people, and Third World people. (They may try to give the

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## Joel Lefkowitz

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ple. Bella Abzug, who has been working for peace of course for decades, now. In fact, women have always led the anti-war movements.

Today, however, our situation becomes more complex. For the first time in America's history, it is likely that women, too, will be called before the draft board. The Pentagon is taking unprecedented measures to recruit women, because the population of males 17-22 years old has decreased 15%, and they intend to make up the difference with women.

Now, we often hear that when women are equal in the military, that will be the ultimate step to their liberation. When women are in combat or basic

## Cynthia Jaffe

nuclear proliferation. In addition, there have been numerous women working as individuals and organizers in the struggle against war. Jeannette Rankin, for instance: the first woman in Congress, the first woman





## CONSENSUS GOT YOU DOWN?

# Try War Tax Resistance

by Cynthia Jaffe

"The tow decisive powers of the government with respect to war are the power to conscript and the power to tax."

—A.J. Muste

Radical Pacifist and Labor Organizer during the 40's

"Tear up that income tax return, I'll buy no war with what I earn. If you want money, you'll have to go Down by the banks of the Ohio."

—from song by David Wilke, about Maurice McCrackin's tax resistance.

In these times, times of unprecedented arms escalation and the sudden call to registration, it is all too easy to feel helpless against the war machine. Long anti-draft meetings leave some people frustrated, quite naturally, unsure what has been accomplished, unsure whether their voice will ever be heard where it most matters—in Washington. But the fact is, there is an easy and effective way that each of us can change things, now—right at home, on our own, without risk, taking up no more than five minutes each month. Namely, we can refuse to pay the taxes which support war.

Tax resistance provides a protest which cannot be ignored. Money talks, after all. For students, the most accessible and safe form of tax resistance is telephone tax resistance.

Of all the Federal excise taxes, the phone tax is the most clearly related to the debt of the Indochina War. The phone tax was instituted during the Korean War, and was supposed to decrease each year as the debt of that war was paid off. But with the war in Vietnam, the tax jumped high again, and today we still pay that debt in each bill we sent to SNETCO. Again, that amount was supposed to decrease each successive year after Vietnam. But with the present political situation, the tax will surely remain intact, and may well rise.

The president has just offered us a Federal budget in which a quarter of all taxes will go directly to the military. That includes military pay, procurement of weapons, recruitment and selective service administration, research and development, veterans, and interest on the Vietnam war debt. But an even larger percent of our income taxes goes for this. In fact, in fiscal year 1980, the figure has been 32%—over half of our income taxes. Paid to death, while human services suffer for funding.

The basic logic and rationale for war tax resistance, then, is to

- personally reduce our complicity with the war-making machinery
- redirect money to programs which suffer because of arms race, or to those organizations actively working against arms
- make a dramatic statement to the government in opposition to war
- motivate and inspire others to do the same.

Today there are probably several thousand people who are refusing some portion of their income taxes in opposition to the military; and perhaps three times as many refusing to pay the Federal tax on telephone service.

Remember the Greediest!

### HOW DO I TAX RESIST?

To refuse the phone tax, you simply subtract the full amount of the tax from your monthly telephone bill and include a note of explanation to the company (SNETCO) when paying the rest of the bill. (The tax amount is itemized clearly on your bill each month.) Your phone service will not be cut off; your bill can be questioned or contacted by the phone company or police—it is completely safe. The note you enclose with your bill can be brief and simple. An example might be the following:

"The amount of Federal excise tax, \$\_\_\_\_\_, has been deducted from my payment of this bill because of my opposition to military spending, nuclear proliferation, and escalation for war. The U.S. maintains military garrisons all over the world to protect American corporate interests, and to be prepared to participate in future wars.

"I have decided that it is necessary to oppose this massive military spending, by refusing to pay the tax which supports it.

Signed,

Your O. Name"

The War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, and other peace groups can also supply you with printed cards which you can sign and enclose with the bill. (A coupon for this is at the end of the article.) Many people prefer to enclose their explanation only once, and then simply withhold the tax from subsequent bills, since their first note is on file at the phone company and no further questions may be asked. Occasionally the phone company requests that you call them each month just to remind them that you are withholding the tax.

### OTHER FORMS OF TAX RESISTANCE

For some, resistance takes the symbolic form of enclosing a protesting note with the income tax return. Others file an amended return requesting a refund on grounds that the collected money is used for illegal and immoral purposes.

Some fill out the 1040 form but refuse to pay a token amount, or to pay the military portion (say, the 52%), or to pay any (since any portion of what is paid would go mostly to the military. Some file a blank 1040 return with a note of explanation, or don't file a 1040 at all.

Some just earn less than the taxable income. For tax year 1978, for instance, this meant that single people earning less than \$3200 owed nothing, or \$5200 for a married couple filing jointly. This method is more a form of avoidance than resistance; nevertheless, the government does not get any money.

One of the difficulties with resisting taxes is getting the opportunity to do it, since most people receive their income in the form of wages, which are subject to withholding before they see their check. But there are ways to get around this, too.

### THEN WHAT?

Tax resistance should not be used simply as a way to save money. Tax resisters are encouraged to reroute their money to appropriate groups and projects, or at least put it into an alternative fund. In the case of Wesleyan, we might try redirecting the reserved money to fund our draft resistance and anti-nuclear efforts. (Comments or suggestions on such a system may be addressed to me in Box 296, or in letters to Hermes.)

In New York State, for example, a group has formed to hold reserved tax money of their community in escrow. This is the Suffolk County World Peace Tax

Fund, in Bellport. The New England Yearly Meeting (Quakers) also keeps this money to finance alternative economic endeavors such as community co-ops. In Philadelphia, the Center for Law and Pacifism keeps a file of anyone's written resolution of tax resistance. In this way, resisters are not acting alone; they have moral, social, and legal support.

### GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO RESISTERS

The Government response to resisters varies greatly. Most people can expect to get a series of notices from the IRS. Often the IRS will attempt to levy a bank account or salary, if they can find either. Occasionally, the IRS has seized property and sold it at a public auction, returning the money less the tax, interest, and penalties. If the money "owed" is small (less than \$100), the IRS cannot proceed beyond a few forms. In fact some people have been refusing for over thirty years and have never been collected from. If the IRS is successful in a collection, they will add 12% interest per year and possibly a penalty, which might amount to a small percent. In any case, it usually costs the IRS more money than it collects when dealing with resisters.

Tax resistance isn't new. Its origins in this country began over 200 years ago with the Quaker and Mennonite opposition to the French and Indian war.

At a time when there is spiralling inflation, high unemployment, poor health care, insufficient day care, substandard housing, inadequate mass transportation, deficient education, incompetent crime prevention, meager pollution control, and an inefficient profit-oriented energy program it is easy to see how money could be better spent. One rather distressing example: one C-5A aircraft costs \$4.5 billion. That's enough to eliminate hunger in the U.S.

Since money talks, let us be so mute, so reticent, without taxes that the government will have to come crawling to us for dialogue. Then maybe we'll have a say.

I would like to thank Ed Hedeman and the War Resisters League for providing me with much of the information needed for this article.

### War Resisters League

339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012  
212-228-0450

- ☐ WRL "Tax Resistance Kit" for \$3 (button, poster, info, phone tax cards, income tax card)
  - ☐ tax resistance button at 50¢ each
  - ☐ tax resistance poster at \$1 each
  - ☐ brochure (free)
  - ☐ "People Pay for Peace" at \$2
  - ☐ telephone tax cards at 50¢ for 12
  - ☐ income tax card (free)
- Please send me information on
- ☐ People's Life funds
  - ☐ War Resisters League

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

### LIFE AND DEATH OF A RADICAL (con't)

the world. It took twelve years for the bullets of the Right to take their toll. For the past two or three years he had been in good health, but at times his sense of balance was off. Perhaps he fell, perhaps he hit his head; an autopsy was ordered, but it seems that there were no indications which could render the death suspect.

The news was released Christmas Eve. Rudi the Red who in 1967 had led the students of Berlin, and who in 1968 led nothing more, was dead. He leaves behind a wife and two children. And what else does he leave? The legacy of a leader whose dramatic oratorical power swept thousands of students to the streets. Over the following decade many of the changes that had grown out of the student revolts, such as full voting rights in the election of professors and administrative staff, have been curtailed and dismantled by legislation.

Yet Rudi Dutschke remains a sign of his times. Twelve years after being presented as Germany's public enemy number one, his death stirred little interest. From this point of view as well as from the tenacity with which he remained political, the itinerary of Rudi Dutschke is important.

tions in Germany (two students were killed in Munich) and in major European cities including London. The "Springer" press, a right-wing newspaper group was accused by the demonstrators of having incited the hatred against Rudi and his friends. Several weeks later it was May 1968.

Paradoxically, it was at the moment when the universities of Europe saw their most violent agitation that Rudi was confined to a hospital bed. When he recovered, the movements in Germany were already finished or were winding down. He emigrated to England and in 1971 was deported as an "undesirable alien" by the British government which accused him of having been involved in "subversive activities" and for being a "public danger to society."

So he ended up at a university in Denmark where he completed his doctorate and where his visa was renewed. His thesis concerned Lenin, a tentative to lace him once again with his feet on the ground which was published in 1974. In recent years he had renewed his campaign for social change and had helped to found a radical newspaper in West Berlin. In this past year he declared his support for the "Greens", a coalition of environmental groups championing an alternative party for West Germany's next parliamentary

elections and he was about to move to Bremen in order to expand his participation in the ecological movement against nuclear power.

At the time of the height of terrorist activity three years ago, Rudi had condemned the recourse to violence. Though not adverse to talking about violence, he did so in abstract terms and in this respect epitomized the first generation of militants in Germany which then gave way to a period of urban guerrillas and terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang.

The fact that he kept a distance from the rash of political violence, never stopped him until his death from manifesting his radical convictions and his forthright views. No one group on the Left could ever truly recuperate his unconditional support. He never renounced his direct non-conformist style of intervention, his independence, and his profound sense of justice and sincerity, or his willingness to risk in complete good faith, which had eventually resulted in the attempt on his life.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a leader of the French May '68 student revolt, writes of Rudi's death in *Liberation* that "he was truly possessed by the demon of politics, always searching for new perspectives, there where the trees hide the forest." Rudi the Red was so-

meone who at all costs wanted to save the world. It took twelve years for the bullets of the Right to take their toll. For the past two or three years he had been in good health, but at times his sense of balance was off. Perhaps he fell, perhaps he hit his head; an autopsy was ordered, but it seems that there were no indications which could render the death suspect.

The news was released Christmas Eve. Rudi the Red who in 1967 had led the students of Berlin, and who in 1968 led nothing more, was dead. He leaves behind a wife and two children. And what else does he leave? The legacy of a leader whose dramatic oratorical power swept thousands of students to the streets. Over the following decade many of the changes that had grown out of the student revolts, such as full voting rights in the elections of professors and administrative staff, have been curtailed and dismantled by legislation.

Yet Rudi Dutschke remains a sign of his times. Twelve years after being presented as Germany's public enemy number one, his death stirred little interest. From this point of view as well as from the tenacity with which he remained political, the itinerary of Rudi Dutschke is important.



# No Registration, No Draft, No War ?

by Jon Fieldman

Suddenly we find ourselves in the midst of the makings of a very heavy-duty crisis. The Soviet Union has invaded Afghanistan; some intelligence sources predict the eventual invasion of Pakistan. Carter has called for Selective Service registration and our flirtation with the Chinese has been accelerated. If cavalier lightheartedness is ever inappropriate then surely the time is now. The hour is serious and begs for the guidance of sombre thinking.

The alternatives open to us, either of action or inaction, must, I most strongly urge, be systematically evaluated in regard to both of two criteria: first, in terms of our national self-interest; and second, in regard to moral responsibility. Undue emphasis of either of these at the expense of the other would be a mistake. Ideally, we must seek that narrow ground where the two converge.

Yet it is my perception that on campus this last week the balance, the careful systematic integration of both these criteria, has not been attended to by many of those on either side of the issue. I find this alarming. This so, I am anxious that these criteria be quickly thrust into the foreground of the debate.

Allow me, then, to support and draw out the details of this position. In regard to our national self-interest, I would like to say, first of all, that such a thing most certainly exists and is valid, morally valid, for us to defend. While I recognize that there is justifiable cause to want to change and improve the way our society operates, this is certainly not to say that our country does not have a legitimate national self-interest at present. We do, and must tend to it in the international realm. However, as a friend has emphasized, we must very critically differentiate between what is our true national interest and what certain narrow groups would have it to be. Just because some describe a certain course of action to be in our self-interest surely doesn't make it so.

More specific and concrete, in regard to oil, while I think this country has, as a result of irresponsible and corrupt management, been made entirely too dependent on it, nonetheless I think it would be foolhardy at this point to surrender access to the Middle East reservoirs. I certainly support a dramatic and speedy evolution away from oil-dependency. However, until this evolution has been made operative on a national scale, by the effort of political action, it would hardly serve us well if the present juice of the system were cut off. I do not think it a wise policy to invite vulnerability.

The obvious question, then, is whether the recent Soviet action does indeed threaten our access to Middle Eastern oil. This, of course, depends on the motives of the Soviets. I expect these are probably mixed, being at once a blend of security-mindedness against Moslem revivalism as well as of imperialist expansionism. Soviet security-mindedness shouldn't phase us a bit opportunist expansionism, only of that brand that treats our hopefully ephemeral vital interest in oil or other, well-articulated, vital geopolitical interests, is however, most alarming. To the degree that

the Soviets do have some insane ambition to back us into a corner is the degree to which we must be prepared to stand firm. However, it deserves sturdy emphasis that our vital interests aren't put on the line every time the Soviets do something dramatic.

So, a clearheaded, detached assessment of Soviet intentions is imperative here. It is principally on this evaluation upon which any case for Selective Service rests. However, I must pull up short of passing judgement on this. I do not think myself well-enough versed to assess Soviet intentions. Thus, while I clearly leave the door open to Selective Service, at this point I do not know enough to be sure. It would be a mistake, though to begin saber-rattling without firm evidence of the dubiousness of Soviet motives.

Moving on to the morality of the situation, I must reject the unbridled, pious virtuosity one has heard allegedly serious people proclaiming recently. The invasion of a sovereign country by the Soviet Union is certainly morally repugnant. The potential use of poison gas or other chemical weapons is particularly discouraging. Yet, the United States does not possess the moral credentials to strenuously object. We have court. To become indignant about Afghanistan after our little episode in Vietnam is a bit hypocritical. We belittle the Soviet claim that they were invited in, derisively asking "And did Amin ask to be assassinated too?" all the while conveniently misremembering the details of the demise of our one-time buddy Diem. Moreover, let us recall our own use of those refined products of military technology: napalm and agent orange. Nor could our conduct in regard to a couple of other regimes here and there hold up to rigorous moral scrutiny. One suspects that the high-sounding moralism spouted about these days is but a cloak we wear in order to veil the sharpness or the blade of our self-interest. Enthusiastic self-righteousness always deserves close scrutiny. Thus my basic message here is a not-so-innocent echo of George Kennan.

Well, this brings to a close what I feel compelled to say. While I am firmly convinced of the utility of the framework I have presented, I acknowledge that one could reason within it to different conclusions than I have. I invite, indeed urge, those differing with my thinking to share their views with the rest of us. In any case, the most important thing I hope this essay achieves is to help encourage us all to take a step away from the grasping clutch of dogma and move towards a more whole, real, objective evaluation of this serious circumstance we have no choice presently but to face.



cont. from page 2

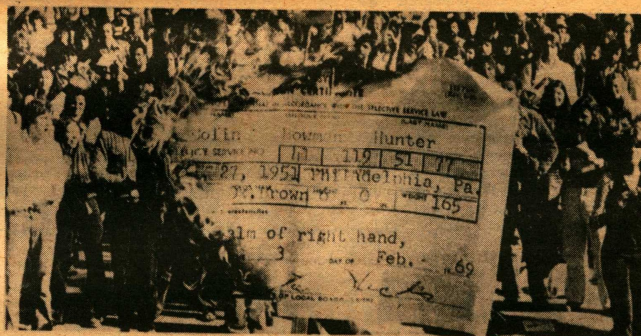
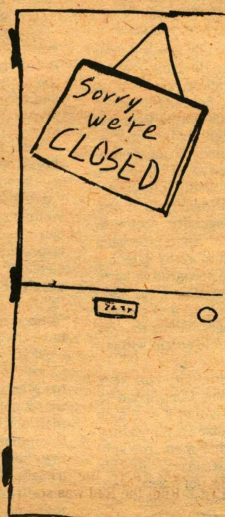
(the United Nations Development Programme), the politically obscure (Reunite Gondwanaland) and the simply callous (a list of final grades for a pre-med science course.) You can see the ridiculous (Great Moments in Microbiology) and the absurd (apology notes to go in nuclear warheads.) There is the helpful (reports on carcinogens in beer, 24 Hall Atwater), the "how to" (an article on the revenge murder of a Stanford professor, 28 H.A.), and the hurt (pictures of dead seal victims of the Canadian hunt, 28 H.A.) There is a whole dooful of momentos for Trekkies (65 H.A.) The student research rooms (especially the Marine Biology Room, 105 H.A.) boasts beautiful nature photography. Ben Wolozin's Lab (33 H.A.) has an impressive display of cartoons, including a highway sign which proclaims "Welcome into California."

Interestingly, you can follow the educational exploits of Peanuts cartoon characters on a number of office doors. Charlie Brown discovers the ultimate course-Remedial Living-(320 PAC.) while Patty alternately sleeps through a class (305A PAC) and discovers she has Math anxiety when asked "how many ways are there to arrange nine books on a shelf" (on Professor Rosenbaum's welcoming door, 635 Science Tower.)

Professor Johnson's door holds the most moving and supportive statement I found on a day of office door-reading. It tickled my imagination. And in this is the joy of office door-reading. In a strong intellectual environment like Wesleyan, much emphasis is placed on what you must, should, or won't read for a course. You can learn as much (more?) from reading the few passages that genuinely interest a professor enough to be posted on his or her door.

"On a branch of a fig tree which sprouted in our garden a rusty bowl had

hung suspended for years. Perhaps a long-dead neighbor had once thrown it from the window of the flat above, and it had caught in the branches. It was already hanging covered in rust outside our kitchen window when we first arrived. Four, five years. Even the fierce winds of winter had not brought it to the ground. On New Year's Day, however, I stood at the kitchen sink and saw with my own eyes how the bowl dropped from the tree. No breeze stirred the air, no cat or bird moved the branches. But strong forces came to fruition at that moment. What I mean to say is this: all these years I had observed complete repose in an object in which a hidden process was taking place."



## More Nuclear M.A.D. ness

All the "isms" that we cherish will be "wasms" when we perish when the leaders of our nations have explosive confrontations that erase the work of generations in a FLASH of hellish light

But, "Better dead than Red!" they cuss along with other statements thus of mega-death lethality that back the harsh reality of self-fulfilling prophecy whenever Might makes Right.

George Gleason  
Oct. '79





# Perspective on Zionism

by T. Hersch

As a Jew and an anti-racist, I have heard almost every side of the Jewish-Palestinian conflict imaginable. There have been statements saying that there are no such people as Palestinians or that they are all Arab terrorists that cannot be trusted. I have also heard that the Jews should all be thrown into the sea. Between these two extremes, there are a multitude of more moderate arguments, some more plausible than others. Indeed, one could justify the existence of a strictly Jewish state or strictly Palestinian state if one wanted to. I intend to do neither in this article. I have written this however to call attention to the human rights and the national rights of an oppressed people, people who have been taken advantage of by both British and American interests and by a doctrine called Zionism. I refer to the Palestinians.

No one can deny the history of how the Jews were expelled from their homes two thousand years ago and how tragically they have been treated since, through the time of the holocaust. They were victims of extreme religious and racial persecution and the "final solution to the Jewish problem" that came about in fascist Germany was one of the most horrible examples of human treatment in modern history. It makes me all the more sad knowing how quickly the Israelites have emerged as the persecutors today.

Zionism, as indoctrinated by Theodore Herzl, began in the late nineteenth century. It called for the return of the Jewish people to the biblical land of Israel, from which they had been expelled so many years ago. This land was at the time called Palestine. Jewish emigration to Palestine was encouraged and actually enacted by England at this time for many reasons. First of all, England needed a military stronghold in the area to deal with their Turkish enemies. Also, Britain had their own problems with anti-semitism. They had a massive immigration of European Jews in the late nineteenth century and many of the British anti-semites resented this as a threat to their job security. England actually passed an "Aliens Act" that restricted Jewish immigration. Thus, by encouraging the colonization of Palestine Britain could solve two major problems.

What occurred, however, was that they created more problems than they could solve. They had not taken into ac-

count the will of a civilization of Palestinians that had thrived there for thousands of years. There were promises, of course, that the Arab's rights were going to be respected and that they were not going to be driven away just as the pilgrims had promised to respect the rights of the American Indians. Most attempts at colonization in world history have at one point had to deal with this problem. The concept of colonization includes the annexation of land, and if there is someone already living on this land, a conflict is bound to occur. Zionist colonization was no exception.

The years that followed witnessed much armed struggle between Zionist colonizers and Palestinian resistance. Violence and innocent deaths were as rampant as they are today. The state of Israel was actually established in 1948, in the wake of the massacre at the hands of the terrorist organization, Irgun, led by Menachem Begin. This was the raid of the Arab village of Deir Yassin and the blowing up of the King David Hotel that left 254 dead. This act further encouraged Palestinian emigration and made room for more Zionist colonization, and thus the Israeli state was born.

Israel in its thirty-one years of statehood has never really had a peaceful existence. They have been

constantly harassed by various Arab nationalists and by their victims, the Palestinians. As the Cold War developed between the United States and Russia, the U.S. needed a military ally to defend its interests concerning Arab oil and the "Soviet communist menace". So, our support of the state of Israel was logical to insure our interests half-way around the globe. Israel needed military support to defend itself from its enemies and we needed a military stronghold against our enemies.

The American-Israeli ties are strong today. Israel is heavily reliant on U.S. aid, military and otherwise. Israeli stress on foreign aid and military equipment have hurt their economy however, and they suffer from a triple-digit inflationary rate and a growing national debt. All guns and little butter do not stabilize any economy.

The Israeli economic woes and the refugees created up to 1948 are not their only problems today. The June war of 1967, during which they annexed the Sinai peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan, and the Gaza strip has created even more Arab refugees, thus leaving more room for Palestinian resistance and further conflict. Today, there are Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and other Arab

countries who live in refugee camps and are denied the rights to return to their homes. By annexing these territories, Israel had been forced to occupy militarily the West Bank and Gaza in order to insure their safety. But people resent military occupation and this has furthered the cause for Palestinian resistance. To complicate matters even more, Israel insists on colonizing parts of the West bank. These settlements are a center of controversy even within the Israeli government, to the point where Moshe Dyan, the Israeli militant, resigned:

Israel today faces many crises. In 1974, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) leader, Yasser Arafat, addressed the United Nations and gave a compassionate account of the injustices committed onto his people and many countries around the world are recognizing Palestinian Rights. Israel has given support to the most racist and undemocratic regimes in the world, such as Iran's infamous Shah, Nicaragua's Somoza, and the apartheid South Africa. Israel continues to occupy the West Bank, and treat Arabs within Israel as second class citizens. They have been under heavy criticism for their assaults on South Lebanon. This leads to further Palestinian resistance and Israel needs more guns and more foreign aid, thus even furthering their economic troubles.

This picture can and must be turned around in order to insure peace in the Middle East. It is indeed happening today. There is a growing peace movement within Israel that is beginning to see Zionism as self-destructive. The Palestinian voices that have been quieted for so many years are now being heard through their representative, the Palestinian Liberation Organization. An amicable solution must include both Israeli's and the P.L.O. at the bargaining table. The Palestinians have the right to self representation here and do not need Anwar Sadat to decide their fate for them. The solution must respect the human rights and national rights of both Jews and Arabs. Israel has continued to disregard the P.L.O., calling them a group of terrorist animals that are trying to "throw the Jews into the sea." This notion is paranoid and self-defeating. This attitude is changing. Jews around the world are seeing the truth about Zionism. The next move belongs to Israel.



## Towards a Men's Community

by Steve Blum

In this article I would like to share some of my thoughts on what our Men's Community might be. I believe it must have three basic goals. It should foster strong friendships and emotional support between men. It should challenge the rigid and destructive male sex-role and struggle to create alternatives to what society considers masculine. Finally, it should broaden and intensify our understanding of how we oppress women and help us work to change that oppression.

Many men feel a lack of strong emotional bonds with other men. We often see each other more as competition than friends. When we need support or understanding we usually look to our women friends or hold the feelings inside. It's hard to talk with other men about emotions like fear and insecurity. By our inability to share these feelings with men, though, we lose an important source of support. We also become terribly dependent on the women in our lives, many of whom may be growing to resent the role of exclusive emotional supporter. We need to struggle with our competitive ways of relating and start learning to share with each other.

A major reason we find it so hard to make strong ties with each other is that we were raised to be men in this society. Our culture's male sex-role has done us a lot of damage. We've spent so much of our selves trying to be "men" that many of us are incapable of being whole human beings. The need to be strong, unafraid, and competitive has left so many of us lonely, unfeeling, and empty. We need to understand more about how this male sex-role has influenced our lives and how it is imposed upon us. After that we need to challenge it, change its destructive elements and reject its rigidity.

Men must be capable of nurturing as well as being nurtured, cooperating as well as competing, being compassionate as well as being strong. Together we can struggle for the freedom to be whole people.

Men are not the group who suffer most, however, from a culture that raises males to be aggressive, dominant, and unfeeling. Women are oppressed their entire lives by male behavior and male dominated institutions. We need to better understand how, both as individuals and as members of a thoroughly sexist male culture, we oppress women. Once we understand, we must start the long process of fighting that oppression by changing ourselves. In addition, we must come to know feminism. The second wave of American feminism is more than a decade old. From it has come not just a struggle for equality, but also radical new ideas on knowledge, life, power, sexuality, societies, spirituality and thought. We will find our relationship to this powerful women's movement more by listening than by speaking (and we should be prepared to learn that our place in it is often to stay out of its way). Men must join with other men to understand and support our sisters in their struggle, while recognizing that we cannot become part of the women's movement without coopting it.

An important way our Men's Community can work toward these goals is by organizing Consciousness Raising Groups. A C.R. group consists of 5 or 6 men who meet weekly for a few hours to discuss things they want a chance to talk about with other men. The subjects that have come up in my C.R. groups include anger, fathers, feminism, friendship, loneliness, love, relationships with men, relationships with women, sexism, sexuality, spirituality and vulnerability. There's a

lot to talk about. Some groups have found it very difficult to get beyond the intellectual to the personal. The struggle is worth it. C.R. groups can provide a place for closeness and growth. Besides their weekly sharing, lots of groups have potlucks, hikes, retreats and other types of gatherings.

Last year the Men's Community held a C.R. sharing night. The different C.R. groups got together to talk about their experiences. There was discussion about things that went well, problems that arose, methods and techniques used in each group, and how we had grown. Such exchanges between groups can be very valuable.

There are many new ideas about what may be done this semester. A Men, Sexism and Society study group is already forming. Speakers and films (such as "Men's Lives") can be brought to campus. The Women's Studies proposal needs active support. We can organize discussions, forums and workshops on issues that concern us. A social event such as a square dance or coffeehouse would bring us together for an evening. A task force can be organized on campus lighting and safety. We could even hold a men's conference at Wesleyan. There is plenty to do if people have the interest and energy.

What actually happens depends on what people choose to do. All men are welcome to become part of the Men's Community and help shape it. It's important that it not fall to a small group to make decisions and plan activities; ideas and energy should flow to the Community from all its members. We really can work together to grow in our lives and change our role in society. The first step, once each of us decides such growth and change are important, is joining with other men to start making it happen. Let's take that first step together.



# Media Quotes

cont. from

60's. Rather, it is the Policy makers who are looking backwards and who fail to note the important changes that have been taking place. Union support for the war and the military economy ten years ago occurred at a time when unemployment and inflation were a fraction of what they are today and what they will continue to be for the next decade of this already decade-old recession. The system worked for working Americans then in a way that it does not now and will not soon. There is a

renewed militance in the labor movement and one area in which it is expressing itself is in opposition to the draft. We can expect the increasing support of unions like the Autoworkers, the Machinists, the Hospital Workers, the Farmworkers, and others. On the other side, they, the policy makers, in and out of government, will try to portray the anti-draft movement as a movement of (overprivileged) students. While colleges will be the scenes of early and vocal opposition to the war makers, opposition will be—already is—more widespread than they can imagine. (In one survey in Rep. McCloskey's Congressional District, 42 % of high school students said that they would refuse to register even for national service.)

According to the news media, we are a very united country lately: We all support an Olympic Boycott, we all support the President and want nothing so much it seems as World War Three. But there are other stories on the news: Oil company profits skyrocketing, the continuing movement of capital out of the northeast and indeed the country, President Carter just announced that workers, whose real wages dropped by about 8 % last year, would have to drop their wage demands and bear the brunt of price hikes. It is becoming increasingly clear to all that imperialism, as morally objectionable as ever, fails to deliver even modest economic benefits to American workers. Indeed, the opposite.

The draft, if it is resumed, will probably include only 18 year olds. They're supposed to be more malleable. And harder to organize than they would be in college; harder to find than if they were working. The war makers are calculating that by excluding people in college, they will effectively stop anti-war organizing such as it existed during the Vietnam War. (See, they can only imagine that we're opposing the draft out of the most obvious kind of self-interest.) But we, after all, would not be

(From Page A32 of the New York Times of 15 November 1979)  
In 1926, Freud asked, What do women want?  
In 1979, we found out.

Of course, Dr. Freud wanted to know what women wanted from life.

All we wanted to know was what women wanted from products. So we consulted Dr. Yankelovich.

The Yankelovich research people conducted a major study of the buying habits of women 20 to 34. Their findings: an impressive number of women want the same things from their products that they wanted when they were young.

In fact, two out of every five users of mascara are still using the same brand they first chose as teenagers.

More than one in four are still using the same bath soap.

And years afterwards, more than one in three are still using the same nail polish.

In category after category, despite fads and changing trends, one thing remains unchanged.

To a surprising degree, a girl's first choice is the one she stays with.

And the place where she first does her choosing is Seventeen. Where more teenage girls begin lasting relationships than in any other magazine.

If you're an advertiser and would like to know more about this important new study, we'd be happy to go through an analysis with you. Just call our Advertising Director, Robert Bunge, at (212) 759-8100.

We'll show you that while personality may begin in childhood, loyalty begins at Seventeen.

SEVENTEEN

Today, she's really 18-34.

(From the Wall Street Journal on 16 November 1979, p. 22)

IMAGES OF WOMEN AND THE JOURNAL: A STATUS REPORT

An unscientific survey has now confirmed an even more unscientific first impression: the Wall Street Journal has become chic. Advertisers who aim at women with a bit of money to spend are featuring the Journal in their ads, as a fashionable accessory and a symbol of what today's woman is supposed to be about. This aura of éclat that the newspaper is evidently giving off these days is a far cry from its image of a decade ago.

For years this paper has been widely used as a prop in newspapers and magazine advertisements. Sometimes they were ads—"Think of our Sheer Panty Hose as a small long-time investment"—that were a kind of joke. Most usually the ads were intended to show that the product being flogged—briefcases, suits, liquor, cars, insurance—were part of the well tended executive life. The paper often appeared under the arm of the executive himself, who was invariably white, male, neatly pressed and distinctly in command of this world.

That was before the women's movement. In the last three years or so, a new breed of ad has appeared on the scene.

Some of them are absolutely straightforward, recognizing simply that there are more women in the business world now who need to buy traditional business goods and services.

Some of the ads have a newer twist. They seem to think they can sell even traditionally feminine products using a picture of the Journal: they're banking on a bunch of females out there who want to be reminded of their connection to the business world

even when they're thinking about themselves as women....The makers of Bali brassieres, even, advertise by showing a self-possessed young woman reclining with her top half covered only by the product and her well-manicured hand clutching—the Wall Street Journal.

This fusion of images, though, is only the soft core stuff. Others are getting even more explicit about how central work in the business world should be to a woman's life. An ad for Mademoiselle, a magazine aimed at the young women's market, puts it right out front. The advertisement pictures a model with a pouty mouth, a direct gaze and the Wall Street Journal nearby. "I love the secure feeling I get from one man," she tells readers, "My accountant." This, the ad goes on to tell potential advertisers in the magazine, is the Mademoiselle reader.

She's showing up in other places as well. In a specially striking appeal to her earlier this year, the high priced Laszlo cosmetics line showed her a picture of its products, some simple but elegant gold bracelets, a pair of buttery soft leather gloves, a Wall Street Journal and the reminder that "Looking after yourself got you where you are today."

She is deeply involved in business, obviously. She's a sign of how important the corporate world has become to the progress of the women's movement and how important the movement has been in turn, in conferring a kind of desirability and legitimacy on business. But just as striking, this woman who's made the Journal chic seems to derive her clothes, her home, her glamour and her sense of ease and completeness from her work. She most definitely does not depend for these things on any man—or on much of anyone, outside her work relationships, for that matter.

This mirror that the ads hold up to our social shifts exaggerates, of course. But to the extent it reflects something real about the self image and desires of the women these ads appeal to, maybe people had better prepare themselves for changes a good deal more profound than many would have predicted from "women's lib" just a few short years ago.

By Suzanne Weaver, of the Journal's editorial page staff.

the ones on the front lines, in the least glamorous and most dangerous units, and we're not just here to watch out for number one.

We know that the draft will militarize our entire society, impoverishing all but the war-profiteer class and limiting the civil rights and liberties of all citizens, and that it will encourage new Vietnams in new countries fighting for their freedom. It's something that, drafted or not, no one can escape.

Jan Perlstein is a Wesleyan graduate and security guard. He works on Politics and Education.

Much of this information on the history of conscription comes from Mike Useem's article "Class Warfare, American Style" in Politics and Education, Vol. II, No. 1. That issue contains a more extensive discussion of the points raised in this talk.





# Editorials

## The Reconstruction Of Imperial Ideology

continued from front cover

of aberrant ayatollahs and arrogant aggression in Afghanistan? By matching proverbial might with proverbial might? By escalating the nuclear and tactical arms race beyond its already insane proportions? By reinstituting registration and the draft so that our armed forces might be better prepared to face the threats to our national security? By not only talking loudly but by wielding a bigger and bigger stick? By unifying the nation around a militaristic rallying cry, regardless of the complex set of facts surrounding the current events? By positing a Machean division of international good and evil? (Guess which side we are on?) By driving us ever closer to the brink? Even to speak of nuclear war, as the White House has recently done, is irrational and immoral.

And by rewriting history and reconstructing the present as it unfolds, reality is distorted and mystified (we simply don't know what's going on.) And the debate becomes more and more meaningless.

Ah, what to believe! Dr. Strangelove meets the Deerhunter. And all they can say is, "the horror, the horror."

We must remember that Soviet aggression throughout the world, deplorable as it may be, is not the only aggression by major superpowers. Our own country has its counterparts, perhaps even more serious than that of the Soviets. To do justice to the subject, please recall the overthrow of Mossadegh on Iran in 1953 and the installation of the Shah; the unprecedented U.S. bombings of neutral Cambodia from 1969 through 1973, and the virtual destruction of that country by B-52 saturation bombing; the secret war in Laos during the Vietnam War; the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion organized by our C.I.A. to overthrow the revolutionary Cuban government; the U.S. support and aid of the 1964 General's coup in Brazil which overthrew the democratically elected Goulart government and established a military junta; the 1965 intervention on the Dominican Republic to protect lives and property during a Dominican revolt (and crush the revolutionary forces); the 1973 CIA sponsored and supported coup in Chile which overthrew the popularly elected Marxist government of Dr. Salvador Allende (not to mention the previous 3 years of U.S. initiated economic destabilization, designed to bring the government to its knees). The list is longer. Our moral admonitions against the Soviet Union must strike a hypocritical chord. We live in a glass house.

V

As terrible as the invasion of Afghanistan is, it is not the "greatest threat to world peace since 1945," as Carter has proclaimed (unless he has made it so by his overreactions.) And neither, as Fred Halliday of the Transnational Institute recently wrote in the pages of the Nation, is the invasion a watershed event, as Carters "pugnacious adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski is quoted in Time as saying." Rather, "it has...been the occasion for some of the most undiluted irresponsibility and crass demagogery on the part of a U.S. administration for many a long year. And the U.S. response—rushing to shore up a crew of petty tyrants and religious obscurantists in West Asia—has sowed the seeds of new international crises in the future. The Russians don't need to do anything but to take advantage of their position in the 'arc of crisis': they just have to sit back, as they did in Iran, and let the West hang itself."

By rushing forward without intelligent thought, we are indeed planting the seeds of future unrest in Southwest Asia. And the harvest will see the West hang itself. Again the Nation: "In the name of facing down the Soviet Union, Jimmy Carter and his Washington entourage will bail out, financially and politically, one of the crudest, most repressive regimes in Asia, that of General Zia in Pakistan."

VI

Meanwhile, back in the States, we have a lot of work to do. It's not easy, you know, with the New York Times and Walter Cronkite pulling the official party line. There is a lot of education and organizing that has to be done.

In case you haven't guessed, we at Hermes think that the registration for the draft, the draft, and the increasing militarization of our minds and society is *bad* news. Read the issue and find out why, in case you haven't guessed. There may not be much time left to act, so we must all act now.

And that includes writing letters to editors of newspapers, writing to our congresspeople, signing petitions, joining task forces, canvassing against the draft, protesting and demonstrating, and even civil disobedience if needed. Let your fingers do the walking, let your feet do the talking.

Remember your old peace button (perhaps it was your older brother's or sister's or parents?) Try it on. See if it still fits. And remember the song? All we are saying...That's what every one of us needs to be saying right now.

## Dr. Strangelove Meets the Deerhunter